

Message Text

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PAGE 01 SALT T 00293 191857Z

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SUBJ: HIGHLIGHTS: POST-MEETING DISCUSSIONS, AUGUST 19, 1975
(SALT TWO-735)

1. VERIFICATION: KLOSSEN SAID (TO KARPOV/SMOLIN, A-963)
THAT HE THOUGHT THE SOVIET REACTION TO THE AMERICAN
PROPOSAL FOR PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE XVII WAS OVERDRAWN.
HE HAD IN MIND MINISTER SEMENOV'S REMARK TO AMBASSADOR
JOHNSON ON AUGUST 15 TO THE EFFECT THAT THE U.S. WISHED
TO GAIN ACCESS TO SOVIET LABORATORIES. HE ASKED HOW THE
SOVIET SIDE HAD REACHED THAT CONCLUSION. KARPOV SAID THAT
THE AMERICAN-PROPOSED AGREED STATEMENT HAD REFERRED TO BOTH
"TEST AND DEVELOPMENT DATA." HE RECALLED THAT DR. BROWN
HAD ONCE EXPLAINED THAT DEVELOPMENT DATA WOULD BECOME
AVAILABLE TO NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS ONLY IN THE TESTING
PHASE. THEREFORE, WHEN THE U.S. REFERS TO "DEVELOPMENT" IN ITS
PROPOSAL, IT CAN ONLY MEAN SEEKING DATA THAT LIES OUTSIDE OF
THE AGREEMENT.

2. KLOSSON ASKED, PUTTING "DEVELOPMENT" ASIDE FOR THE MOMENT,
WHAT WAS THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD MEASURES THAT HINDERED THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00293 191857Z

COLLECTION OF DATA DURING TESTING? KARPOV REPLIED THAT CONCEAL-

MENT OF TESTS OF PROHIBITED ARMS WOULD BE A VIOLATION. EARLE POINTED OUT THAT THE TESTING OF PROHIBITED ARMS ITSELF WOULD BE A VIOLATION, AND KARPOV AGREED. KLOSSON AND EARLE ASKED WHAT THE SOVIET VIEW WAS OF CONCEALMENT DURING THE TESTING OF PERMITTED ARMS, POINTING OUT THAT IN THE CASE OF MIRVED MISSILES VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS COULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE IN THE TESTING PHASE THAN IN THE DEPLOYMENT PHASE. KARPOV SAID THAT IF VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT--AND HE STRESSED "PROVISIONS"--REQUIRED THE COLLECTION OF DATA DURING TESTING, THEN IN THE SOVIET VIEW CONCEALMENT OF DATA DURING TESTING WOULD BE A VIOLATION UNDER THE AGREEMENT.

3. KARPOV ATTACKED THE U.S. PROPOSAL AGAIN, SAYING THAT THE AGREED STATEMENT CREATED MANY PROBLEMS, PARTICULARLY IN THAT IT PROVIDED FOR A SUBJECTIVE DETERMINATION OF WHAT "DATA /IS/ REQUIRED FOR VERIFICATION". EARLE REPLIED THAT, ASSUMING ARGUENDO KARPOV'S POINT, THE SAME PROBLEM EXISTED THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE VERIFICATION ARTICLE, INCLUDING THE ALREADY AGREED LANGUAGE. DISGUIISING AN ICBM LAUNCHER WOULD BE A VIOLATION, BUT WHAT ABOUT CONCEALMENT OF SUPPORT EQUIPMENT AT A MIRVED ICBM SITE. THE OBSERVATION OF SOME SUCH EQUIPMENT MIGHT BE REQUIRED FOR VERIFICATION AND THE OBSERVATION OF OTHER SUCH EQUIPMENT MIGHT NOT BE. KARPOV REPLIED THAT A SIDE SHOULD NOT CONCEAL SOMETHING "VITAL TO VERIFICATION". KLOSSON AND EARLE NOTED THAT HE HAD JUST PARAPHRASED THE U. S. AGREED STATEMENT.

4. TRUSOV ASKED ROWNY (A-961) WHAT HAD OCCASIONED OUR CHANGING THE WORDS IN XVII(3)? ROWNY SAID THAT OUR USE OF "MEASURE" WAS TO ASSURE THAT THE WORD "MASKIROVKA" HAD THE BROADEST POSSIBLE SCOPE. AT THIS POINT THE SOVIETS CORRECTED ROWNY'S TRANSLATING "CONCEALMENT" BY "MASKIROVKA", SAYING THAT THE WORD WAS "SKRIVATS". ("SKRIVATS" MEANS LITERALLY TO CONCEAL BY HIDING OR COVERING AND THUS CONNOTES A NARROWER MEANING THAN "MASKIROVKA") ROWNY SAID THAT THEY WERE REINFORCING HIS POINT, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES HAD USED THE WORD "MASKIROVKA" WHENEVER "CONCEALMENT" APPEARED IN ENGLISH IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT.

5. TRUSOV SAID THAT THE USE OF THE WORD "MEASURE" WAS TOO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00293 191857Z

AMBIGUOUS; IT COULD MEAN ALMOST ANYTHING. ROWNY SAID THAT THERE IS NO AMBIGUITY IN SELECTING AN ALL-INCLUSIVE WORD. WE WANTED TO BE CERTAIN THAT "ANY MEASURE" DELIBERATELY IMPEDING VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS HOULD BE PROHIBITED.

6. TRUSOV SAID THAT SUBSTITUTING AN AMBIGUOUS TERM FOR A CONCRETE ONE "SMELLED OF ATTEMPTS ON OUR PART" TO ACQUIRE DATA OTHER THAN THAT NEEDED FOR VERIFICATION. HE SAID THAT

IT WAS QUITE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT OUR ONLY PURPOSE
IN INTRODUCING THE NEW LANGUAGE WAS TO INTERFERE WITH THEIR
INTERNAL WORK OF TESTING AND DEVELOPMENT. ROWNY REPLIED
THAT IMPUGNING ANY SUCH MOTIVE TO US WAS SIMPLY NOT SO,
ESPECIALLY SINCE THE PROVISIONS WOULD BE EQUALLY APPLICABLE
TO BOTH SIDES. JOHNSON

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